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are entirely their own property. A woman owns the sleeping-mats she makes. A potteress is in the same position as a blacksmith or leather-worker. She keeps the money or natural products for which she exchanges her pots. Nowadays many women who live near a market carry on a regular or intermittent petty trade in cooked food. Sometimes, borrowing the small capital (two or three shillings is sufficient) with which to start, they keep the profits of their trade. It is not uncommon for women to own livestock, mainly poultry but often sheep and goats, and occasionally a cow. They may be obtained by gift or purchase, in the case of small stock, or by exchanging the natural increase of small stock for more valuable stock. A woman's sheep, goat, or cow will be herded with the family livestock, but her 'ownership' (*soləm*, from *so*, to own) remains secure.

A woman's clothing, and her household utensils, most of which she provides for herself, belong to her solely. They are distributed, on her death, to her daughters, daughters-in-law, and sisters. Any money or livestock she may possess passes to her sons on her death, these being what might be called consumers' capital goods, the appropriate owners of which are men. They remain, therefore, in her *dug*, and do not accrete to the patrimonial property of her husband's effective minimal lineage. But it is an accepted principle that her husband has an over-right to them in her lifetime. For, as the natives put it, 'How can a man own his wife and not own the products of her labour?'

There is a quibble in this statement, the concept 'own' being used first in the sense of 'to have authority over', and secondly to mean 'having full rights of disposal over'—rights *in personam* being equated with rights *in rem*, to speak in lawyer's language.[1] And the Tallensi are not blind to this. Theoretically a man is entitled to utilize his wife's property as he wishes. In practice, he would not dare to do so without her consent, and the transaction is looked upon as a loan (*samər*). True, like all loans within the domestic family, it is not subject to book-keeping. But just as the woman feels morally bound to put her possessions at her husband's disposal if he is in difficulties, so her husband feels in honour bound to repay her in time, and generously, if he has any self-respect. Similarly, if a woman contracts a debt without her husband's knowledge and explicit permission he cannot be held liable. But no 'man of sense' would publicly repudiate his wife's debt. He reserves his reproaches for the privacy of the home. Significantly, a man does not, as a rule, settle his wife's debt. He will try to temporize with the creditor—an art in which the Tallensi are past masters—until his wife succeeds in finding the wherewithal to satisfy him. Or, if the husband cannot avoid paying the debt, he considers this as an advance

[1] Cf. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., 'Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession', *Iowa Law Review*, xx. 2, Jan. 1935, for an illuminating discussion of the anthropological relevance of these legal concepts.

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a proxy parent. As is natural, fathers and sons take different views of this situation. Sons do not think that they are showing a lack of filial loyalty when they go abroad. For, they argue, it is only a temporary absence and the money they earn will eventually accrue, in part at least, to the family exchequer. As has been mentioned previously, no man ever turns away a son who comes home from abroad, whether he brings any goods and money or not; and a son who does bring back 'things' and money is doubly welcome.

We said earlier that a father owns all his son's property. This might seem to contradict what was said about the independent ownership by a son of the livestock he acquires by breeding from a gift hen or by other means. The Tallensi themselves do not admit a contradiction in this. They see it as an instance of the gradation of rights and duties that is distinctive of their whole social organization. A father's over-right entitles him to veto his son's using his own property in ways that seem extravagant; but it would be an injustice rightfully resented by the son if he were stopped from using his fowl or goat or sheep for purposes that public opinion considers legitimate. Thus everybody would agree that a father who forbade a son from using his own fowls and guinea-fowls in his courtship, or from selling his own ground-nuts in order to buy a cloth, would be acting unfairly. The case of Kpana-Tee's grandson (p. 195) illustrates this principle.

The rights of a father and the rights of a son in the son's property are reconciled by the principle of reciprocity. If a man makes use of his son's goat or sheep he should, in due course, make an equivalent return; for example, by using one of his own sheep or goats to do something for the son. This object is immediately achieved if the son's property is used for the son's benefit, as in the payment of bride-price. There is no book-keeping, but in the long run the son should feel that the gains he has received are commensurate with the amount of his own property that has been used up. A proxy father should be more careful in this regard than a man's own father. A proxy father is less concerned about the future of his 'son' than the latter's own father would be and is therefore sometimes inclined to take selfish advantage of his paternal authority. Though they have no alternative but to submit, young men deeply resent unfairness of this sort, whether on the part of their own father or on that of a proxy father; and this may be the first stimulus to their determination to set up on their own.

This is epitomized in one of the reasons Tallensi regularly produce when they are asked why young men secede from their paternal households. They say: 'It is because of hens and eggs.' Every man has at least a hen or two, even if he has nothing else, and, as we know, his hen symbolizes the starting-point of his accumulation of property. But hens lay their eggs anywhere and this gives rise to petty quarrels. Anybody who finds an egg claims it and another member of the family may dispute

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593 the claim. But if the head of the family claims an egg no one can gainsay
596 him, so a young man might find himself left without any eggs to breed
422 from. That is why he wishes to be independent. It is a kind of rudimentary myth summing up the economic causes of family fission. The point of interest is the emphasis on the inequitable behaviour of the 'father'. He uses his economic authority to his own advantage without making an equivalent return and thus prevents the 'son' from getting a start on the road of economic independence.

593 The adjustment of father's rights and son's rights has an added subtlety where cash is concerned. Supposing a young man returns from abroad with four or five pounds in cash that he has saved. According to the letter of custom he should hand all of it over to his father. But money, unlike a cow or a sheep, can be easily concealed and does not require attention; our young man can retain a part of his savings without his father's knowing of it. If it is his own father he may keep only a few shillings, particularly if he has recently been, or is about to be married and the money is wanted to pay his wife's bride-price. If it is his proxy father he will probably hand over only a pound or two, unless, again, the money is required for the bride-price of his wife; and then he will try not to hand over the money until his father-in-law actually demands the bride-price. It is common knowledge that this is the regular practice of young men returning from abroad. Fathers have no power to stop it, though most of them would like to; for up to a point, the young men are within their rights. Have they not 'taken their own legs and gone to get their money' by labour that is always arduous and sometimes dangerous? Again conflicts are inevitable, though as yet not more frequent than over other forms of property. For some men are only too apt to fritter away the money entrusted to them by a dependant before the time comes for it to be used for the benefit of the latter.

593 As we have mentioned before, one of the heaviest responsibilities a man bears on behalf of his son, or for a dependant standing in the same
584 economic and jural relationship to him, is in 'marriage affairs'. It is the bridegroom's father or proxy father who has to undertake the series of jural actions required from his paternal kin in order to legitimize the union. In marriage by arrangement (*pɔɣalak*) it is the bridegroom's father who starts the negotiations and carries them through. The young man himself hardly sees his bride, after his first few courting visits, until she is brought to his home. In marriage by elopement (*pɔɣazaŋər*) the bridegroom's father's consent is essential for the marriage to be properly concluded. While, as we have already indicated, a father never openly disapproves of a son's marriage but on the contrary always displays apparent pleasure over it, he can easily cause it to break down by holding back the bride-price.

As we know already, the two significant jural acts in the conclusion of a marriage are the sending of the placation gifts (*lu sɛndaan*) and the

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593 793 eye was caught by an old woman who seemed to be particularly privileged, as she walked about giving orders, and greeting the guests. I was not surprised to learn that she was Teroog's only surviving full sister (*tasoog*). He presented her to me with great pride, holding her hand affectionately. She sat beside him throughout the rites, listening intently to his long invocation to their ancestors, prompting him once or twice, and helping him as if she and he were jointly succeeding to the ownership of the *boyar*. One could see that the notion that any woman might well have been in her brother's place in the social system if it were not for an accident of birth has a very concrete meaning to the Tallensi.

593 Full (*soog*) siblings, as we have already related, constantly visit one another, bringing and taking away gifts. When a woman has a baby, her full sister hastens to her with a bundle of firewood or a dish of soup ingredients. If a person falls ill, his full siblings come running to see him. When Kuur fell and broke his ankle there was consternation among his immediate relatives. Two of his half-brothers rushed off at once to consult a diviner about the accident—no laughing matter, as they well realized, for a man in the fifties—while his full sister stayed behind to nurse him. His wife hovered about helplessly, only approaching him when his sister called for some more hot water. The sister came to him every day for the next week or so and was his most devoted nurse.

593 622 We have described before, also, how full brothers generally hold together, economically and residentially, longer than half-brothers and often throughout their lives. This is due, basically, to their close identification with and attachment to each other. One constantly comes across examples of this. Samane was the Chief of Tongo's right-hand man and probably the only person who had the chief's absolute trust. Why, I once asked Samane, did the chief not put the same trust in his own son Saa? 'Don't you see', said Samane, 'the chief and I are born of one father and one mother. We are as one. He will have no secrets from me or I from him. A man's brother is more to him than his son. Saa wouldn't care[1] if the chief died and he succeeded. I want my brother to live, for his being chief is just as if I were chief myself.' Again, one of the very few cases I knew of men working abroad sending home regular remittances of money was Soyar's policeman brother. When I praised him, Soyar said, as if in explanation, 'He is my *soog*'.

593 422 This comes out very clearly, too, in the property relations of full brothers. Men of the same joint family borrow one another's clothes freely, though the individual ownership of the clothes is never in doubt and the owner's permission is always necessary. But full brothers behave almost as if their clothes were their common property. Hence when a man dies his full brother often takes some of his clothes, instead of leaving all to his sons. There is also a specific ritual sanction in this relationship, the common subjection of full brothers to their mother's

[1] He was the chief's first-born son. Cf. p. 225 above.

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spirit, perpetuating, on the religious plane, their common dependence on her in her lifetime.

It must not be thought, however, that friction between full siblings never occurs. That would be contrary to human nature, the natives often declare. As amongst most peoples, sibling solidarity conceals a strong element of rivalry. Indeed there is one circumstance in which it is taken for granted that *soog* siblings will be prone to quarrel all their lives, even if they do not set up separate homesteads. Two successive children of the same mother and father are regarded as born rivals. The second of the two children, irrespective of sex, is called the *nyeer* of the first. The first *nye* (verb = immediately precedes) the second, who *tayal* (verb = immediately follows) the first in birth order. The definition applies strictly to birth sequence, not to survival order. A child is not its older *soog* sibling's *nyeer* if between them their mother had another child who died in infancy, or a miscarriage—for a miscarriage counts as a birth. The concept *nyeer* is regularly used to indicate an infant's degree of maturity. An infant that has a *nyeer*, or is old enough to have a *nyeer*, is entering the second conventionally recognized stage of social development, childhood proper. So if a native is asked about the stage of development reached by a particular child and says, 'It has a *nyeer* (*u mar nyeer*)' or 'It is fit to have a *nyeer* (*u saya nyeer marəga*)', one can infer that the child is between 3 and 5 years old—or, to keep to native categories of thought, that it is weaned, no longer needs the constant care of its mother or a nursemaid, and is beginning to fend for itself, to join in children's play-groups, and to become acquainted with the world outside the homestead walls.

A child and its *nyeer* are believed to be rivals almost from the day the *nyeer* is born. This predisposes them to be ill tempered with each other and wrangle on the most trivial provocation. Often when I have noticed two children bickering or annoying each other in some petty way, my companion—a man or an older child perhaps—has said with a laugh, 'There 's someone and his *nyeer* (*nit ni u nyeer nla*)'. Once at a funeral ceremony there was an argument between the two sons of the dead man. It ended with the older giving the younger a buffet across the mouth that drew blood. Relatives intervened and separated them. Then an old woman, their father's *soog* sister, with mingled pleading, protests, and sighs, dragged the younger brother away to attend to his cut lip. He was weeping with injured pride and humiliation, exclaiming, 'If he were not my older brother (*bier*) I would kill him'. The people sitting around commented scathingly on this shameless spectacle. Then someone remarked, 'Oh well, it 's a case of a man and his *nyeer*'. It had all begun, I learnt, from the younger lad's accusing the older of having appropriated something belonging to him and the older losing his temper with him for fussing about ridiculous trifles on such a solemn day.

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for consumption. This division of labour runs through the whole of Tale domestic economy and is equally well evinced, e.g. in the organization of house-building and repairing. Boys and girls, too, have their duties in connexion with the care of the live stock and in the house.

The head of such a self-supporting unit has his own granary or granaries. Just as he is the final arbiter in agricultural matters, so he alone controls the distribution to the women of the grain jointly produced. In theory he could even sell the grain if he wished without consulting the men dependent on him; in practice, he dare not do so, for they would leave the compound at the first opportunity.

The entire unit of food economy thus draws its main supply of grain, the staple foodstuff, from a common source. But every household, every primary family, and indeed every individual other than young children has a degree of economic independence which is limited only by the obligations to the bigger unit. An industrious householder usually possesses some poultry and perhaps sheep and goats of his own, supplies a good deal of the minor crops consumed by his own wives and children, and even some grain to augment his wives' rations from the main store. Every woman, again, adds to the food supply of her primary family by her own efforts. If she is a market trader or a potteress, for example, she will have money of her own, will sometimes purchase extra foodstuffs and may invest in live stock which will eventually go to her sons. Her husband has no powers of disposal over her property. If he uses any of it, by her permission, it is a debt which must be repaid.

DOMESTIC ORGANIZATION IN RELATION TO AGRICULTURE AND CROPS. This system can best be understood in relation to Tale agriculture. The staple crop is millet (generically, *ki*) of which there are three kinds, early millet (*naara: pennisetum typhoideum*); guinea-corn (*ki* specifically, each variety being known by a special term, e.g. *kutɔk*, *kaxii* &c.: *sorghum vulgare*); and late millet (*za: pennisetum spicatum*). These with a small amount of rice (*mui: oryza sativa*) occupy 92 per cent. of the area cultivated in the Zuarungu district.[1] The seasonal

[1] According to Mr. Lynn, who reports observations on 29 compounds in Zuarungu district, five being in Tale settlements. Four were somewhat larger and

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243 311 Most compounds also have at their disposal some low-lying alluvial land, (*boog*, valley) suitable for millet or rice. Junior members take up as much as they wish of this, provided it is not required by the head of the compound.

243 596 Reference to the table[1] given previously shows that, on an average, a single unit of food economy is dependent upon the labour of two men and comprises 1·4 households[1] and two primary families. The head of the unit of food economy is entitled to as much assistance as is necessary for the cultivation and harvesting of his compound farms from the junior men, his brothers, sons or nephews belonging to that unit, and to the help of all the women of the unit in sowing and harvesting. He is responsible for the supply of seed, for most of the implements, and he stores the grain in his granaries. In return, all who help him are entitled to share in the produce.

243 596 866 Boys and unmarried young men, dependent upon the wives of the head for cooked food, always assist him in the cultivation of his valley and bush lands. A junior householder need not. If he is ambitious, industrious, or merely planning for the day when he can break away from the control of the head, he cultivates his own bush farm. He supplies his own seed and the produce is his to dispose of as he pleases. Even an adolescent boy may be given a small plot (*sinsiar*) on his father's compound farm to cultivate, the produce of which is absolutely his own. This is one of the ways in which a boy acquires a few chickens and lays the foundations for the economic independence which he gradually reaches in the course of years. Every independent cultivator thus augments the food supply of his own household or family, but not of the whole unit.

244 596 422 This differentiation is even more marked with subsidiary crops, of which the most important is ground-nuts (*sukpaam: arachis hypogea*). The head of a self-supporting unit interplants ground-nuts with his early millet on the compound farm. The crop yielded is his property, though any member of the unit can help himself to some for food. But, in addition, almost every man and boy able to wield a hoe and most adult women have their own ground-nut fields (*sukpalay*). These are made on patches of compound land unsuitable for other crops and

[1] Actually 50 per cent. (28 out of 58) units of food economy have two or more households.

[1] [See cat. 116, p241 — Analyst.]

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not required at the time, and always borrowed specifically for this purpose from kinsmen and friends. Women rarely obtain their ground-nut fields from their husbands. They prefer to beg land from their own cognatic kinsmen, thus emphasizing their absolute independence of their husbands as regards this crop.

For this reason they never receive assistance from their husbands with the hoeing and planting of their ground-nut fields. A son often assists his mother; or young women 'invite' (*pooh*) a couple of young kinsmen of their husband to hoe their ground-nut fields in return for a very good meal, the grain for which the woman generally provides from her own resources. Many, again, have simply to rely upon their own skill with the hoe. The ground-nut crop thus gained is the woman's to consume or sell, as she pleases.

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Of the remaining subsidiary crops, the most important—though less important than ground-nuts—are the legumes, Bambara beans (*suma: voandzeia subterranea*), cow-peas (*tia: vigna sinensis*) and geocarpa beans (*sulempie: kerstingiella geocarpa*); and the root crops, frafra potatoes (*peeha: coleus dysentericus*) and sweet potatoes (*gumhma'ala: ipomea batatas*). Bambara beans and frafra potatoes are grown by the more energetic younger men on borrowed strips of compound farm after the millet is cut. Cow-peas are planted along the edges of compound farm by the head when he sows his early millet.

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Vegetables are the concern and the property of women. The head of a unit of food economy every year allots a small patch of land, some 100 square yards or less, immediately beside the compound wall to each woman with a kitchen of her own. Here she sows her *nangena* (*gynandropsis pentaphylla*), some ocro (*ma'ana: hibiscus esculentus*), *bet* (*h. sabdariffa*), *beris* (*h. cannabinus*). The latter three vegetable plants are also grown like cow-peas and *neri* (*cucumis melo*), alongside the paths which border the compound farm. Thus as they grow and ripen the women can get at them easily without injuring the millet. A woman's vegetable patch is always hoed for her by her husband as the produce is for their common use. The leaves of the cow-pea plant (*tia: vide supra*) are used as a vegetable known as *benit*, and are plucked for this purpose by the wives of the man who planted the *tia*; and the same rule applies to the use of the *neri* seed as a soup ingredient.

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individual cannot be discussed here. Where necessary reference will be made to them later, in so far as they influence the consumption of protein foods.

For the most part, however, the meat which forms an indispensable ingredient of every well-cooked meal, is that of the guinea-fowl. The domestic fowl which is kept as universally as the guinea-fowl, cannot replace the latter since all women eschew it and all first-born children in some clans taboo it. Every compound has its chickens and guinea-fowls. Every man keeps his own; women often do so too; boys begin to breed poultry before they can use a hoe. For poultry, say the Tallensi, is the beginning of wealth. A chicken may be the cause of a quarrel between householders, in which long-standing friction comes to a head, and which leads to households breaking away from the larger unit. In the ownership of poultry, therefore, the tendencies towards the differentiation of households and individuals within the unit of food economy come to marked expression. An individual, even a small boy, can dispose of his poultry freely; the owner of a sheep or a goat, if he is a junior member of a self-supporting unit, would have to inform the head of his unit before selling it, though the proceeds are his own; and all cattle, though nominally owned absolutely by the head of the joint family, can be disposed of only by the common consent of the senior members of that group. Thus the guinea-fowls which find their way into the cooking-pot are obtained not from the head of the unit of food economy, but by each housewife from her husband or by her own efforts. Guinea-fowls are slaughtered specifically for the pot, fowls never. Both kinds of birds are the commonest sacrificial animals, and a guinea-fowl the commonest gift to a woman. Hence the number of birds one sees at a compound is no criterion of the amount of poultry-meat consumed there—the less so as the Tallensi are reluctant to sacrifice their own birds, but prefer to purchase birds for this purpose.[1]

The Tallensi are not particularly discriminating in their choice of meat. Domestic animals dying of disease are eaten to the last shred. At the height of the ritual season cows are often slaughtered and left to lie in the broiling sun for two days before time is found to skin them.

[1] Guinea-fowls sell at 1½*d.* to 6*d.*, chickens at 1*d.* to 9*d.* (depending upon size and the season).

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PRODUCTIVE CYCLE	FOOD CYCLE
SEPTEMBER: Harvesting ground-nuts and other subsidiary crops (roots and legumes) begun. Hoeing and weeding of bush farms continue. Women plucking green ocro and burning early millet stalks for *bakaa*.[2] Ritual festivals commence.	Those who harvested in July already reaching end of supplies of early millet, and resort to market and relatives.[1] Early millet very expensive in market. New ground-nuts (partly green), roots, and legumes supplementing diet largely.
OCTOBER: Harvesting of guinea-corn, rice, root crops, legumes, &c., general. *Neri* lifted. Women drying and storing vegetables.[3]	Food becoming plentiful. Price of grain falling rapidly in market. Cooked food cheap and plentiful in market. Marriage season begins.[4]
NOVEMBER: Harvesting late millet on bush farms, cow-peas and Bambara beans. Women burning valley grass for *ziem*. Children gleaning ground-nuts in play, not because of hunger. Height of ritual festival season.	All kinds of food plentiful. Harvest festivals, during which enormous quantities of food are consumed and circulated and many animals sacrificed, giving the maximum meat supply of the year, and root crops including purchased yams especially in demand for the festivals. All foodstuffs abundant and cheap at market.[5]

[1] Early millet appears in some quantity in the market only at this time; but the prices are about twice the average price of grain. There is some aversion to selling early millet on account of its function in the food cycle.

[2] *Bakaa* is not only used in cooking, but is also chewed with tobacco; hence, there is always a sale for it. The women collect the stalks from their husband's fields, but the *bakaa* is their own property.

[3] With the guinea-corn harvest comes the season of plenty. The tempo of social life and the configuration of social interests changes as completely as the landscape and the climatic conditions. On the economic side attention is at first directed to the selection of seed for storage and the drying and stacking of the grain in the granaries. Women dry and store all kinds of vegetables, especially the much-valued ocro.

[4] The ritual and social activities which dominate this season all require great expenditure of foodstuffs. Marriage involves a period of courtship, during which the suitor brings frequent gifts of guinea-fowls and tobacco to the girl's father and mother. A few days after marriage, the bridegroom sends a large basket of grain and several guinea-fowls to his mother-in-law, and finally has to supply several chickens and guinea-fowls for the legal formalities. The transfer of bride-wealth cattle does not affect the domestic economy materially. Altogether, a man is fortunate if his expenditure is not more than 15 to 20 birds, a block of tobacco (costing 1*s.* or more), a couple of baskets of grain, and a few shillings in money. The girl's family gains correspondingly.

[5] The Harvest and New Year Festivals are celebrated in November. Fowls,

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not infrequently that a woman has only an open kitchen and uses her sleeping-room for wet-season cooking and for storage purposes.

A woman owns all her cooking utensils, and it is usually her mother who equips her with these as soon as her husband has built her a kitchen. Before that she uses the pots of the woman whose kitchen she shares. The fittings of a Tale kitchen are not elaborate: a fireplace consisting of two stones placed side by side against the wall; a flat stone or low stool facing it on which the woman sits while cooking; the stirring-stick leaning against the wall to the right of the fireplace, and one or two old and partly broken calabashes to the left of it; this is the complete picture.

The most exacting task in a woman's routine is the provision of firewood and water. She collects her firewood on her husband's bush farm or on unowned bush land, which may be as much as 4 or 5 miles from her home. It takes her the best part of a day to collect enough for three days. The strain of coping with her firewood requirements becomes acute when a woman has a new-born infant to care for and cannot absent herself for many hours at a time. She may therefore invite a young sister or cousin to come and stay with her and assist her; and such a young girl is often eventually taken in marriage by her husband. Co-wives never lend or give each other firewood; but when a woman has recently been confined, her mother and sisters bring her gifts of firewood when they come to congratulate her, and her husband looks about for heavy logs to bring home to her. He may assist her to carry water, too, for a few days. This is the only time when a man performs these domestic duties. At the end of the harvesting season each woman carefully collects guinea-corn stalks from the fields and stores them on the flat roof of the sleeping-room or inside the kitchen for firewood.

Water is kept in large earthenware pots (*kwoor*) in the kitchen. There is no scarcity of water during the rainy season, as every ditch and furrow becomes a stream, but in the dry season it is a problem. The women and young girls spend many patient hours at the water-holes collecting the water, drop by drop, in their calabashes, as it seeps through the moist sand. This water is kept for cooking and drinking purposes only. A few water-holes do not dry away completely, but become foul with rotting vegetation and stagnancy. The